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HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA

A

SHORT ACCOUNT

OF THE

YELLOW FEVER

IN

PHILADELPHIA,

FOR THE

REFLECTING CHRISTIAN.

BY

J. HENRY C. HELMUTH,
Minister of the Lutheran Congregation.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY

CHARLES ERDMANN.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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THE

PROPRIETOR's

PREFACE.

THE proprietor of the following pages having read with much pleaſure the original work, written in the German Language, was very deſirous to ſee it in an Engliſh dreſs. He communicated this idea to the author of the work, who readily granted him permiſſion to tranſlate it, and generouſly relinquiſhed to him all the emolument, which might ariſe from ſuch an undertaking. The tranſlator is only ſorry that he has not been able to do full juſtice to the work. He is aware that it has not the eaſe or accuracy which the author gave it in his own language. The ideas, however, it is hoped, are materially preſerved, and the diction ſuch as will not be found offenſive. To do good was the deſign of the original publication. To render this deſign more extenſively ſucceſsful has been the object of the proprietor; in which he truſts, that, he will not be altogether diſappointed.

TOBIAS HIRT.

List of all the Burials in the several grave-yards of the city and liberties of Philadelphia, as taken from the several books kept by clergymen, sextons, &c. from August 1st to November 9th, 1793.

Protestant Episcopalians	Christ Church	173
	St. Peter's	109
	St. Paul's	70
Presbyterians	First	73
	Second	128
	Third	107
	Scotch	12
	Seceders	33
Roman Catholics.	St. Mary's	251
	German part do.	30
	Trinity	54
Friends		373
Free-Quakers, returned in gross		39
German	Lutherans	641
	Calvinists	261
Moravians		13
Swedes		75
Baptists, returned in gross.		50
Methodists do.		32
Universalists		2
Jews		2
Kensington		169
Potter's field, including the new ground		1334
		4031

SHORT ACCOUNT, &c.

JEREM. CH. IX. 1.

Oh! that my head were waters and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the ſlain of the daughters of my people!

WHOEVER has ſeen the diſtreſs of our deeply afflicted city; whoever has ſhared in it by the loſs of friends and relations and whoever is only ſuſceptible of human feelings, will undoubtedly break out in ſimilar lamentations with thoſe of the Prophet, for Philadelphia in theſe days of mourning.

There are few cities upon which the Lord had poured forth richer bleſſings, than on this; and there are but few indeed, that have been plunged by his juſt judgment into a deeper abyſs of diſtreſs, than our now weeping Philadelphia.

It is true this flouriſhing city has experienced on former occaſions, the chaſtiſing hand of the Lord; many of its inhabitants recollect the mortality of the year 1762, when hundreds were ſwept away by a ſimilar fever; many will recal to their minds the horrors of the year 1777. when this place was the rendezvous of foreign troops, the ſons of ra-

pine and violence, whoſe trade was blood, and whoſe object was the ſubjugation of America.

Repeatedly have our ſtreets reſounded with the terrifying cry of fire, and particularly the year 1791 was fruitful in inſtances of this kind, when ſeveral buildings were actually ſet on fire out of wanton wickedneſs, and a general terror ſpread over all parts of the city.

But never were there ſcenes ſo terrible, ſo diſtreſſing to us, as thoſe which our citizens experienced during the late months of mortality in the current year 1793.

To give a ſhort and true account of theſe months, and of what has happened therein, will probably be an agreeable undertaking to our German brethren, notwithſtanding the mournful ſcenes which I ſhall have to lay before them. No doubt but one and another of them will drop a tear at the peruſal of this account; and their tears will flow the more plentifully, the nearer the facts may concern the reader in particular; or the more tender and ſuſceptible the feelings of his heart may be. If a ſingle corpſe can ſometimes embitter all our joys, and plunge our heart into the deepeſt morning, what muſt be the effect of ſeveral thouſand deceaſed, and among theſe ſome tenderly beloved friends. In ſadneſs itſelf the heart finds ſometimes a kind of voluptuous ſatisfaction; and and if this account ſhould produce only here and there ſuch an effect, the author would not think his trouble altogether in vain in giving it into the hands of the mourner: But this mournful pleaſure, otherwiſe ſo delicious, would be of a ſhort

duration only, and very imperfect; it would after all be a ſadneſs of the world, which leads to death, and real comfort would remain concealed from the heart; and for this very reaſon this ſmall and imperfect work ſeeks and aims at a much better object. The author places a firm reliance on the grace of God, that perhaps this account, and Oh! may God grant it! will cauſe not only a ſadneſs but a divine ſadneſs in ſome of its readers; it is at leaſt his deſign, that in peruſing this imperfect ſketch ſome one or other may be led, feelingly to exclaim "And I too have carried ſtraw, yea even pitch and brimſtone to this fire of the anger of the Lord; it is true it has not devoured me as yet, but I owe my preſervation to the interceſſion of my Redeemer: and ſhall I continue to provoke this my merciful Saviour any longer by the commiſſion even of one intentional ſin? My God! this would be the thanks of Devils and a challenge to the Almighty to bring his judgments nearer and more dreadful upon me. Up therefore oh my ſoul! thou muſt quit thy former ways of ſin, and by an immediate and true converſion of heart throw thyſelf into the arms of a forbearing God."

This ſhort account, which I am about to communicate, muſt certainly be imperfect in many reſpects, on account of the accumulated buſineſs, which during the time of our extreme diſtreſs would not permit us to pay much attention, to matters of ſmall moment. Our duties, indeed were ſo numerous and preſſing, that it was difficult to give to each their attention which it ſeemed to demand. I will therefore only juſt take a ſhort view

of the diſtreſſed ſituation of the whole city, and then confine myſelf particularly in this relation to what concerns our German-Lutheran-Congregation; but even of this I ſhall not be able to mention ſome things which at any other time would be looked upon, as of very great conſequence.

As early as in the middle of the month of Auguſt we had a funeral in the above mentioned congregation, which ſeemed rather ſuſpicious, but nobody at that time had the leaſt idea, that the deceaſed had been affected with a contagious diſorder.

On the 19th. I was called to a man, whoſe breathing was very ſhort, but who did not ſhew in his countenance the leaſt ſymptoms of approaching death; nevertheleſs to my very great ſurpriſe, he was a corpſe on the 20th.

Nobody yet ſuſpected, that this man had died of a contagious fever. On the 21ſt. a man out of the ſame family was buried, out of which eleven days before the firſt-mentioned corpſe had been interred, but even this did not make any particular impreſſion in thoſe parts where theſe funerals happened. However on the ſame evening terrifying accounts were reported from that part of Water-ſtreet, which lies between Race and Arch-ſtreets. Experienced phyſicians had been called to ſome ſick perſons, and theſe found the fever, that had broken out there, of the moſt dangerous complexion.

Terror was viſible on every face in that part of the town. Very few of thoſe in health were to be

ſeen who had not one thing or another before the noſe or mouth, in order to keep out infectious air. Many of the inhabitants began to feel a certain kind of horror at that part of the town; and if buſineſs forced any one thither, he would go with a trembling heart and haſten away as faſt as poſſible.

The ſick complained of great pain in the head and back; and all their limbs felt as if they were bruiſed; ſome had a ſtrong tenſe pulſe, and theſe experienced an uncommon difficulty in breathing; they ſeemed to be in a conſtant agony; and ſuch uſually died in three or four, ſome even in one or two days, and generally in the moſt pitiable conflict of nature.

Others complained likewiſe of pain in the head and back; but their pulſe was ſo weak that it could hardly be perceived, ſome felt a moſt excruciating, others, a more tolerable pain in all their limbs, which they could hardly move; theſe lived from five to eight days and then died in a more eaſy and quiet manner than the others. Both kinds of the diſeaſed complained of ſickneſs at the ſtomach, which occaſioned them to vomit; and they brought up a matter that appeared quite black or rather like black coagulated blood; ſome bled very much from the noſe; they had a black lengthy ſtreake on the tongue, and when this laſt appeared they were moſtly the certain victims of of death.

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Moſt of them turned yellow during their ſickneſs, which color they kept after their deaths, though it then became of a deeper hue. But in others, this color could hardly be perceived, though they had ſhewn every other ſymptom of the yellow fever, as it was generaly called.

Many of them had black, red and blue ſpots, others turned quite black in the face; particularly round the eye-lids and the noſe. This black and yellow colour ſhewed itſelf in ſeveral, whom it has pleaſed the Lord to reſtore to health; and it remained until nature worked off the poiſon by degrees.

The attack of this ſickneſs was very ſudden; few had any particular ſenſations of approaching diſeaſe; many went to bed in the evening to all appearance in the enjoyment of perfect health, and at break of day they were often at death's door. This unmerciful enemy moſt commonly made his firſt deadly attack on the body with a ſevere chill, which was in ſome of a ſhorter and in others of a longer duration and then changed into heat and pains.

From the above mentioned part of Water-ſtreet, ſixteen perſons had been buried within a few days, before the upper part of the city knew much of the danger.

The firſt queſtion now naturally was "*From whence did this dreadful diſorder take its origin?*" Water-ſtreet had been always looked upon as one of the healthieſt ſtreets in the city, and really

was ſo, and it was therefore the more ſurpriſing, that juſt here ſuch a deſtruction ſhould take place. The opinions of our citizens were much divided on this queſtion: Some believed,

This dreadful fever to have been generated in Philadelphia itſelf;

Others inſiſted, that it had been imported by ſome veſſel from abroad.

Thoſe who looked upon this child of deſtruction as a native of this place, ſupported their opinion by the following circumſtance:

In the houſe in Water-ſtreet, wherein the firſt grown perſon died of the yellow fever, ſeveral others died afterwards; this drawing the attention of many and the houſe being examined, they found a great deal of dirt and filth and even real ordure in it.

To this it was added, that this narrow and cloſely inhabited ſtreet had been greatly injured, by a leſs quantity of tar being burnt therein for ſome time paſt than formerly; the veſſels being obliged by an Ordinance of the Corporation, to make their repairs of this kind higher up or lower down in the city, whereby the air in theſe parts had not been purified by the healthy ſmell of the tar, as had been formerly the caſe.

Some aſcribed the originating cauſe of this fever to the weather; and others again to the great numbers of people, which for ſome months paſt,

had been too much thronged in the dwelling-houſes.

I for my part believe this diſorder to be the off-ſpring of another climate; but how it found its way to us, has as far as I know, never yet been aſcertained; at a future day we ſhall undoubtedly obtain more light upon this queſtion, when a cooler and more exact inveſtigation can take place, I will in the mean time relate what I have heard on the ſubject.

A veſſel arrived here with ſome damaged coffee, and near this veſſel it was ſaid, the diſorder ſhewed itſelf firſt and with the greateſt violence. The Magiſtracy of the city cauſed an inveſtigation to be made with reſpect to theſe imported goods, from whence it appeared and was looked upon as certain that this veſſel and its cargo were not the cauſe of this calamity; however, ſeveral perſons were taken ſick in this neighbourhood and died.

It was further ſaid, that ſeveral dead bodies had been brought aſhore from aboard a veſſel that lay outſide of the before mentioned veſſel, which emitted a very offenſive ſmell. This was done in the night time and perſons who had ſeen it, were taken ſick immediately, and died.

Such were the reports that circulated among the inhabitants; but as I ſaid before, nothing can as yet be decided on the ſubject with any degree of certainty; but there is one thing which ſeems to corroborate the preſumption, juſt before mentioned: it has been further ſaid, that the veſſel from whence

the dead bodies had been carried aſhore, acroſs the one laden with coffee was taken a few days after to Kenſington, a ſmall town two miles north of Philadelphia, in order to be repaired; and that immtdiately afterwards the ſhip carpenter, who had undertaken the work, together with his people, had been taken ſick in Kenſington, and that he and ſeveral of the hands had died. (I myſelf conducted to his grave in ſaid Kenſington, as early as the 25th of Auguſt a young man of twenty years of age, a ſhip carpenter, who had died of this fever.) This diſorder ſoon afterwards began to ſpread among others. Campington had likewiſe its ſhare of this calamity. We are more and more confirmed in our opinion, that it was this veſſel, which brought the infection to us, when we conſider that that part of the neighbourhood called the Neck, between Schuylkill and Delaware remained entirely clear of this ſcourge; a part which is counted at other times the moſt unwholeſome about this city; a part alſo which is as near to the ſouthern extremity of the city, as Kenſington to the northern: a part where the houſes are not much further aſunder than in the other place, and whoſe inhabitants go daily through the whole city with milk and vegetables. It is true ſome have died there, but they amount to no more than three or four at the moſt, and theſe were perſons who had either followed their daily labour in an infected part of the city, or who had nurſed their relations and acquaintances in town, laid them out when dead, and then carried the ſickneſs home with them and died. Several people now fled to the Neck in a ſeaſon of the year, when at other times they would have been afraid of remaining there

But I hope I ſhall be permitted to mention a few matters, which, long ſince have been very alarming to every ſerious thinking man in this city, and whereby Philadelphia has diſtinguiſhed itſelf before all other places in Pennſylvania. Things which even in a natural way threatened the temporal ruin of the city.

Philadelphia far exceeded moſt of the cities of North-America, in luxury and diſſipation among all claſſes of people.

It was Philadelphia, that did not reſt, until the performing of theatrical exhibitions was authoriſed by law. It was Philadelphia that refined ſo much on this ſpecies of vanity, as to erect one of the largeſt houſes upon the continent for theatrical exhibitions and engaged actors at a prodigious expence; as if one houſe, that exiſted before were not ſufficient to ruin our young people, too much neglected already. It was Philadelphia that imported from luxurious Europe, the number of 70 or 80 actors and retainers to the ſtage, who actually arrived here exactly at the time, when the fever raged with the utmoſt violence. It was Philadelphia, that contained thoſe parents who had given willingly 300 dollars to obtain a perpetual right of free acceſs with wife and children to the plays, in order to plunge themſelves and their relatives the quicker into all kind of diſſipation, and

part deſerves the ſtroke: but perhaps he deſigns to reſerve thoſe places that are more corrupt for heavier and more deſolating judgments at a proper ſeaſon.

to obliterate in their hearts all taſte for what is ſerious and uſeful, I will not ſay godly and heavenly.

Many a one looked upon 300 dollars as a trifle to gratify vanity and levity, who would have been afraid of being ruined, were he to lay out ſo many ſhillings for widows and orphans.

This was the very autumn in which the new houſe was to be opened, which numbers waited for with joyful expectation; but this was likewiſe the very autumn, when theſe newly arrived ſons of levity found this poor city in the deepeſt mourning, and fled with horror from the long wiſhed for place to New-York and other places. And may they never tread on Philadelphia ground again in that character! May all the inhabitants of this city of ſorrow, particularly thoſe who remained here in thoſe days of death and terror join, and with united endeavours labour for that purpoſe, that the fathers of our country may repeal that certainly injurious act, which has rendered this folly lawful among us.

For my part it was horrid to hear that notwithſtanding the great calamity which we have recently experienced, I ſay, that notwithſtanding this, it has been ſaid, I am told, *that in the courſe of this winter the new play-houſe was yet to be opened;* yea, that, in order to deceive the public or rather to deceive Omniſcience itſelf, the proceeds of the

firſt night were intended for the benefit of the widows and orphans.*

Away with theſe horrid benefits and the money of ſin! Keep your ſinful wages, for this is all you have to expect for your pains here and in eternity; God knows how to gladden the heart of the widow and orphan in a better manner; he does not want for this purpoſe your wages of vanity; leave theſe to them for whom they were intended; our widows and orphans ſtand in no need thereof, for the Lord himſelf is their protector and father; and he will find means, without this money earned in levity, that the forſaken ſhall not ſuffer want.

It was Philadelphia, that during the whole of laſt ſummer was ſo eager to ſee the rope-dancing and other ſhews exhibited in the city, that one hardly knew how to paſs along, for the immenſe number of people, who were either going to theſe diverſions or returning therefrom. Many a one carried thither, that money which he wanted exceedingly for the ſupport of his family. Moſt of them diſtracted their hearts, there in ſuch a manner, that on the following Sunday they ei-

* *This is a very ſuperficial pretext. If they who attend upon ſuch occaſions intended a charity to the poor, why would they not rather ſelect the objects themſelves, than make uſe of ſuch almoners as players? If it were poſſible that players poſſeſſed ſenſibility in their proper character; why not diſtribute their alms from the remnant of their diſſipations and their uſual profits, inſtead of calling upon the world, to admire their charity by public advertiſements!*

ther did not go to church at all, or elſe could have no benefit from the explanation of the word of God, every part of their minds being ſo filled with thoſe follies, that it was impoſſible, that any thing ſerious could find room therein.

After ſuch a merry, ſinful ſummer, by the juſt judgment of God, a moſt mournful autumn followed, which commenced when the much eſteemed and celebrated Circus was hardly cloſed.

How ſtriking muſt this circumſtance be to every contemplating mind, that this very circus was the place, whither the very firſt ſick were brought, in a moſt deplorable ſituation, who on account of poverty, and want of friends, could find ſhelter no where elſe! This place, which a few weeks before reſounded with the noiſy acclamations and clappings of levity, was now filled with the lamentations and groans of the dying, and reſounded with the wringing of hands by thoſe forſaken wretches, that were ſent thither, three whereof died in extreme miſery, and where no one recovered.

Philadelphia was the place that ſeemed to ſtrive to exceed all other places in the breaking of the ſabbath. It may be ſaid with propriety, that our ſundays and holy-days were our moſt ſinful days. Immediately at break of day, the rattling of the carriages began through all the ſtreets. They hurried into the country with their families as early as poſſible, in order by no means to approach the Deity in public worſhip, along with other citizens and ſincere chriſtians.

Here the whole day was ſpent in extravagance and diſſipation; Father, Mother, and Children formed together with the ſervants, a whole groupe to proclaim to the Moſt High, *We care not for thy commandment about keeping holy the day of the Lord.* When evening came on they returned, and gave no ſmall interruption to thoſe before whoſe places of worſhip they rattled along.

But, oh! my God! how ſuddenly, how mournfully, was this ſcene altered! the rattling buſtle of carriages, which uſed to carry the deſpiſers of the inſtitutions of religion far away from the worſhip of Jeſus, particularly on Sundays, to vanity and the joys of the world; was now changed into the ſlow melancholy movement, from morning till night, of thoſe carriages, which certainly have conveyed many of thoſe Sabbath-breakers, to their ſilent graves; whilſt their ſouls have been obliged to appear before the tribunal of that God who himſelf had given the ſtricteſt command, "*Remember the Sabbath-day to ſanctify it;*" and who has virtually renewed the ſame by his apoſtles in the New Teſtament, when he cauſes them to remind us *Not to forſake the aſſembling of ourſelves together—Let the word of Chriſt dwell in you richly.*

A great many who had not the means to ride out into the country on the Lord's day frequented the taverns and beer-houſes in the city and vicinity, and there ſpent their time in the moſt frivolous diſcourſe, backbiting their neighbours, or even coarſely ridiculing the word of God itſelf; or they gamed, drank to exceſs, and frequently quarrelled and fought.

During theſe laſt months many of theſe tipplers and ſabbath-breakers, became delirious; their levity was changed into the terrors of death, and their mockery into whining and lamentations. Juſt God! what ſcenes of this kind have we ſeen! ſcenes which for a long time will convey images of horror to the neighbourhoods which ſaw them! My pen is not able to give a deſcription of that agony, which was but too viſible in the laſt moments of ſuch perſons.

If I had never before been convinced, of the advantages, which the chriſtian has over the infidel; the inſtances which I have ſeen of the dying condition of both, would have been more than ſufficient, to produce ſuch a conviction in my mind.

Oh! Philadelphia! Philadelphia! how often would thy Jeſus have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and thou wouldeſt not! Sundays were in particular the ſacred days on which thy Saviour carried on his work of love in thee; on thoſe days he frequently called thee powerfully towards him; but it is deplorable to ſay, hardly one third, yea! hardly one fourth of all thy numerous inhabitants, would vouchſafe to hear the call of the Lord, much leſs ſuffer themſelves to be gathered under his wings. Under theſe circumſtances was it then to be wondered at, that thou was laid waſte.

Philadelphia was the unfortunate place, where curſing, ſwearing and perjury had fixed their reſi-

dence; one needed only to walk the ſtreets on Saturday evenings and Sundays in particular to hear the moſt horrid imprecations from men, and ſometimes from women and youths, nay even from children.

Philadelphia was the place where a certain claſs of people, had aſſociated themſelves for the avowed purpoſe of blaſpheming our bleſſed Saviour. It was gone even ſo far about two years ago, that a certain preacher had hired a room, wherein he ſet before his hearers, what he called ſermons, or rather poiſon of ſeduction, from which many were to imbibe an averſion againſt the doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt. It was even ſaid, that money had been collected for the purpoſe of building a proper meeting-houſe, for this new teacher, who denied the God-head of Chriſt.

In order to give a better idea of the frivolity of theſe people. I will relate but one inſtance, which will ſhew at once, how deeply ſome of the inhabitants of this city were fallen: On a certain morning when this frivolous meeting had broken up to a perſon, paſſing by and aſking; What all theſe people had been doing in the dancing-ſchool on a Sunday? it was anſwered, " *We have juſt now heard a ſermon, wherein it has been proved to us, that your ſuppoſed God was nothing but a baſtard of Maria.*

I here give the ſtory as it was related to me, the whole excited in me an unſpeakable horror, and muſt be a ſufficient proof to any of my readers, that ſuch a place, if it ſhould not go quite to de-

ſtruction, wanted a viſiation like that which it has experienced.

Were I to cloſe here the enumeration of the particular ſins of our city, it might be objected to me with juſtice, that I had omitted mentioning a ſubject, on which I was bound to ſpeak, particularly at this time. The tears of the widow and the ſighs of the orphan have had always, alas! too much reaſon to riſe againſt people who have wronged them out of their property; and as there have been numbers of ſuch intereſted harpies in our city, I am well convinced, that the judgment we have lately been afflicted with, was the completion of the threats, which the word of God has denounced againſt ſuch a city and ſuch a country. The great Luther uſed to ſay, " *I would rather ſee the Turkiſh Emperor with his whole army march againſt me, than have a ſingle ſigh of a widow appear againſt me in God's judgment.*"

Widows and orphans are under the particular protection of tne Almighty, and whoever wrongs them, or impoſes upon, or cheats them, has to do with the Almighty power itſelf, and often by ſuch crying ſins draws the moſt dreadful judgments of the Moſt High on a whole country and city.

Attend to this, ye guardians! be careful! for God's ſake and for your ſoul's ſake be exact to the leaſt trifle, with reſpect to every thing you have in your hands, and for which you are to account with widows and orphans. It is you, who may eaſily cauſe a recurrence of a more dreadful viſitation; as there are now ſo many more widows and orphans, in this city than ever before. For God's

ſake do not augment by your unkindneſs, by your impoſition and ſelfiſhneſs, their diſtreſs which is ſo great already; and know, that the Lord will prove himſelf eſpecially in this reſpect, a ſevere judge and avenger, not only on yourſelves but purticularly on your own poſterity.

It would be eaſy to recite numerous inſtances of ſinners, who, having defrauded the widow and the orphan experienced in a viſible manner the avenging hand of the Almighty upon themſelves or upon their deſcendants and it would not be very difficult to find out perſons, who, during theſe laſt months, gave up their terrified ſouls, with a reproaching conſcience, and with the tormenting thought, "*I too have defrauded the widow and the orphan.*"

It were to be wiſhed, that no other ſins prevailed in Philadelphia, than thoſe above ſpecified; but unfortunately this city, in common with all other large cities, was remarkable for drunkenneſs, lewdneſs, fraud, pride, avarice, uncharitableneſs, quarrelling.—and where would the catalogue end? all theſe and far more had attained the higheſt ſummit among us.

Numbers came indeed to hear the word of God, but the majority of thoſe denied its efficacy. Repentance has been preached in the uſual way, to our city theſe many years; but when this had no effect, God took upon himſelf this buſineſs in an unuſual but dreadful manner. Hundreds, yea thouſands of corpſes were made to call to every one of us: "Turn ye; turn ye!—And oh! how would

all good men, how would even the crucified Saviour rejoice, if this call of God, had produced a general echo among the inhabitants of Philadelphia. "Oh! my God! Turn thou me; turn thou me!"

[What kind of people were particularly ſwept away by the Yellow-fever?]

Having made mention before of dying youths, and girls, I will only add to this ſhort account of this deadly fever that generally people, between fourteen and forty years of age were ſwept away by it. But few children or old people were attacked by it; among thoſe who appeared to be the healthieſt and ſtrongeſt the inſtances of recovery were feweſt. Men who ſeemed to have made a covenant with death, and an agreement with the grave for a number of years to come; whoſe exterior appearance ſeemed to warrant the hopes of a healthy and advanced age, were laid in the duſt in a few days by this fever.

Further, people who made their belly their God, thoſe in particular who had given themſelves to drunkenneſs, or in other reſpects to a looſe and abandoned way of living, when attacked by this diſorder, were moſt commonly the ſure victims of death. Several phyſicians, to whom the way in which ſuch people live was known, when called upon to attend them, were very loath to go, or would not go at all, becauſe they expected beforehand, that their remedies would have no effect for the recovery of the ſick.

The diſorder likewiſe raged with much more violence among the men, than upon perſons of the other ſex.

Many a widow bewails now a huſband, who to all appearance, would have been the ſupport of an increaſing family, for many years to come. How many uneducated children are now fatherleſs orphans; in how many houſes do we hear the cry: My ſon—Alas! he is no more—My beloved daughter—Ah! my God, they are, theſe dear children are in the duſt of the grave!—And woe to the father, woe to that careleſs mother, in whoſe boſom the excruciating thought ariſes: " *The poor creatures died, but they died comfortleſs perhaps through my fault: I never ſought after Jeſus, and therefore never could earneſtly awaken the darlings of my heart, to ſeek their Savionr; My God, what is become of them, whither are they gone, and what is to become of myſelf and thoſe of the children who remain.*"

My ſoul ſhudders at this thought; and probably very few fathers and mothers can read this altogether without feeling. And is not this the place where ſomething in particular, ought to be ſaid to parents? certainly it is: and nobody can take it amiſs to find the following reflections in this ſmall pamphlet.

Our children were intruſted to us for the purpoſe of educating them in the knowledge and fear of the Lord; early or late he will demand this truſt at our hands. When death diſolves the tie between us and them; and eſpecially in the day of judgment, we ſhall have to anſwer for the man-

ner in which we have executed our duty, and it will be ſolemnly decided, whether in this weighty concern, we have paid due obedience, with all uprightneſs, to his commands or not.—Every parent need only read the ſingle hiſtory of the unfortunately Eli, which is found in I. Sam. II. 23. 25. 30. 34. and IV. 14. 18; and if he read it really with attention, I am very ſure he will make the following obſervations:

Eli neglected the education of his children, and on account of this neglect, a dreadful judgement came upon him, and in this judgment were involved, not only the ſons of this unfortunate father, but his whole poſterity, yea, a whole nation.

Eli was far from being that indifferent much leſs that quite wicked father, of whom there are, alas! ſo many among our preſent fathers and mothers, and nevertheleſs he ſuffered that dreadful judgment which made the ears of thouſands ring! But certainly God is not unjuſt nor partial; he never ſuffers one to go unpuniſhed, when he viſits others ſo ſeverely; and therefore certainly a more dreadful judgment muſt await thoſe parents, who who have been leſs attentive to the welfare of their children than Eli was; or who perhaps have been themſelves the ſeducers of theſe comparatively innocent victims to temporal and eternal deſtruction.

I might extend theſe obſervations to a very great length; I could make here a juſt complaint, that there are too many parents found in this city, from whom, nothing but the moſt dreadful curſes

and many other abominable things are heard or ſeen by their children; ſo that it muſt be really a miracle, if theſe poor creatures do not go down to everlaſting deſtruction.

I would propoſe here the following queſtions, and leave them to every father and mother who reads them, to anſwer them faithfully to their own conſciences. Do you pray with your children, and do you pray heartily and earneſtly for them? How is it about family worſhip? Do you keep morning and evening prayers? Does the word of Chriſt dwell richly among you? Do you read the Holy Scriptures with your family? Do you admoniſh them to ſerve God in ſpirit and in truth? Are you acquainted with the ſigns of a true converſion of heart, and do you inſtruct your family therein? How is it at your table? Do you pray before you eat? Do you take your victuals with thankſgiving, or does not this complaint lie againſt you? "The people ſat down to eat and to drink and roſe up to play." How do you make your children keep the Lord's-day?

Here I will ceaſe; Make good uſe of the above queſtions dear readers, and let ſerious reflection at a ſilent hour originate a greater number of ſuch neceſſary queſtions in your own hearts.

One word more to parents, who have loſt ſons or daughters during the late diſorder, whoſe ſpiritual ſtate at the time of their deceaſe was rather equivocal, and where there is no full conviction of a happy meeting again.

All the advice that can be given to you, in your preſent mournful ſituation, is contained in theſe few words; Return unto the Lord! acknowledge with contrition that you have neglected your poor children—conſider the dreadful indifference for the religion of Chriſt, which has prevailed in your family; your neglect of prayer—but alas! where ſhall one begin and where end the catalogue of all that has been deficient in this reſpect in moſt families! remember, at the ſame time, the dying groans—the laſt agonies of the departing ſpirit—the lonely melancholy funeral of your deceaſed ſon or daughter; to theſe reflections add the queſtion, have not I perhaps neglected my child? Was not I perhaps the cauſe that it died ſo comfortleſs, as was to all appearance the caſe? and if this conſideration will not induce you, to look with horror on your dangerous condition, and to long for being converted to Jeſus Chriſt—then nothing—nothing can move you; you are hardened, hardened beyond conception—and the deepeſt abyſs of hell is juſtly your due.

[The diſorder was contagious.]

The moſt dreadful circumſtance in this terrible diſeaſe was that few, very few, who approached any perſon afflicted with it, could eſcape the infection; and that all thoſe, who were infected, could generally trace the place where they had taken the ſeeds of the diſeaſe.

In ſome, this deadly poiſon ſhewed its effects immediately; in others, by ſlower degrees. I have known inſtances, of perſons, to appearance hearty

heightened the diſtreſs. It was in the moſt dreadful ſtage of the ſickneſs, that ſome of the moſt famous among them died, others from terror had fled out of the city, and others again were dangerouſly ill; and as thoſe who remained were not able to attend one half of the ſick, to whom they were called, certainly a great number remained without aſſiſtance.

How much the diſtreſs was increaſed by this circumſtance no body can imagine, who has not witneſſed it. At the firſt attack of this diſorder the thought would fall mountain-like on every one's mind.—I muſt inevitably die. If then nobody could be found to give ſome relief by proper remedies, and thereby raiſe a ſpark of hope of recovery in the drooping mind, the fear of death overpowered many and actually killed them. The relations of the ſick, full of terror, wandered about the houſe, or ſtood at a diſtance from the unhappy victim; ſome perhaps would approach his bed, but with viſible reluctance, in order to hand him ſome refreſhment, or to adminiſter ſome remedies of their own preſcription.

And I do not know, where this diſtreſs would have ended, if ſome perſons had not interfered, who at other times did not properly make it their buſineſs to attend the ſick. I mention this circumſtance ſo much the more, as it was preciſely ſuch a man, who not only recovered a number of highly eſteemed members of our congregation, but likewiſe by the uſe of his remedies under the bleſſing of God, reſtored a colleague to me, and a Paſtor to the congregation.

[Interment of the dead.]

The dread of this diſorder ſoon became ſo great, that it was impoſſible to find carriers of the dead, as numbers of thoſe who had carried at firſt ſuch as had died with this diſorder, were infected thereby and fell ſick; it therefore became neceſſary to make uſe of carriages.

The number of attendants at a funeral was greatly diminiſhed, every body retired at the approach of a herſe; windows and doors were ſhut as they paſſed. Frequently nobody but the driver of the herſe or chair ſhafts and the inviter accompanied a coffin, which hundreds would have followed at other times. Here one man juſtly deſerves to be mentioned in particular; this is our inviter; he not only took care of funerals as formerly, but in the moſt dangerous inſtances always aſſiſted with his own hands to put the corpſes into the coffins:* by his intrepidity the driver of the herſe was encouraged to do the ſame; and I do not know, how a number of corpſes of our congregation would have been conveyed to the grave, if God had not endowed theſe men with ſuch courage.

The day frequently would not ſuffice to bury all

* *The Sexton and Clerk of the 2d Engliſh Preſbyterian church were remarkably uſeful in the ſame way, and have been mercifully preſerved. The firſt never had the diſorder at all and the ſecond not till its prevalence was greatly abated.*

the dead, becauſe no aſſiſtance was to be had in digging graves, and it was impoſſible for our uſual grave diggers, to make from twenty to twenty-ſix graves in a day; it became in ſeveral inſtances therefore neceſſary to take the night to it. Melancholy for all and dreadful for many, as theſe ſcenes were in the ſtreets of the city, yet, (to the praiſe of my gracious Redeemer I record it) this nightly-ſilence amongſt the tombs, when I was waiting for funerals, and wandering, quite alone, among the newly raiſed hills, was ſometimes ſweetly ſolemn.

How comfortable to me in this ſituation, *O thou my once buried Saviour! the remembrance of thy grave; How did the thought force itſelf upon me, that my Jeſus alſo wandered amongſt the tombs; and whom did he ſeek there? the unfortunate poſſeſſed, and to the poſſeſſed he there gave the moſt ſubſtantial relief; lo! here wandereth a ſpiritually poſſeſſed; but Jeſus too is here and brings me likewiſe relief from my diſtreſs whilſt among the tombs!* Such thoughts as theſe, Oh! how reviving were they to my ſoul! how many ſilent tears have they forced from mine eyes! Ye, who were preſent at ſuch nightly funerals, every hour of your life remember the grave.

Our grave diggers were not exempted from this diſorder; both were laid up with it and one of them died. A young man who had faithfully aſſiſted the latter, was alſo ſeized, and in the very prime of life, fell a prey to death. Another aſſiſtant was at death's door, but is now recovered.

Under ſuch circumſtances it cannot be ſurpriſing, that thouſands of the inhabitants fled away. Nearly one third left the city; ſome of theſe carried the infection along with them; ſickened in the country, and were brought back to us dead.

The ſtreets of the city looked quite empty; moſt of the ſtores and a great many houſes were ſhut up; many of thoſe, who remained in the city kept themſelves pent up in the back part of their houſes, and even cut off all communication with the neighbourhood. Night appeared to me, at leaſt ſometimes, moſt melancholy. Such a deep ſilence reigned in the ſtreets between nine and ten o'clock at night, as at other times was ſcarcely to be found at twelve or one in the morning. I perfectly recollect ſeveral viſits of the ſick, which I had to make, intirely alone, at that time of the night and that at a conſiderable diſtance from my dwelling. Houſes ſhut up to the right and left, deſerted by their inhabitants, or containing perſons ſtruggling in death at that very time, or whoſe former inhabitants were all dead already, formed a part of the melancholy ſcene! In two or three ſquares hardly a living ſoul was to be met with, where twenty or thirty people would elſe be paſſing and repaſſing at that time of night; at one houſe and another the remembrance of the lamentations and the dreadful pangs of death, which the rooms thereof had witneſſed a few days ago, and the———but I'll break off here, I will not retrace this image, I ſhould only renew the pain, which often has pierced my very ſoul.

Advantageous as the flight of our fellow-citi-

zens was, in many reſpects, yet their taking leave was diſtreſſing. I have met ſeveral that were hurrying away; in tears they would take my hand, and with ſobs ſome would cry, *Oh God! grant that we may ſee one another alive again.* Tears would ſtart into my eyes; I hurried away and felt, what at ſuch ſcenes one muſt naturally feel.

The infection ſpreading in a few weeks not only through the whole city, but likewiſe filling the ſuburbs with terror, our frightened inhabitants purſued their flight into more diſtant parts. The inhabitants of Philadelphia will certainly never forget the inſtances of humanity and hoſpitality they experienced in different places, and their hearts will certainly never ceaſe to glow with the warmeſt wiſhes for the happineſs of theſe generons friends of mankind. Whereas the unfriendly conduct, ſometimes even inhuman brutality, of ſome will remain a ſtain upon humanity.

Kenſington, as has been mentioned above, experienced the violence of the diſorder at its very commencement, and loſt a great many of its inhabitants; Campington, between Kenſington and the city, had likewiſe a great number of dead; the Neck, as it is called, fared beſt of all, and hither a number of families fled for refuge. In the city itſelf, one ſtreet ſuffered certainly more than another, but few, I believe, remained quite free.

Narrow ſtreets were the moſt dangerous, and here the greateſt number were ſwept away. In Apple-tree alley alone (a ſtreet only one ſquare

long, and not all along inhabited as it contained a number of ſtables) near forty perſons died, whereas Market-ſtreet did not looſe near as many in eight or nine ſquares.

The mere ſight of the great number of deaths, which is annexed to this book, will excite without doubt different emotions in the minds of diſtant readers, and they will certainly wiſh to read what impreſſions theſe mournful months have made upon the minds of the inhabitants of the city itſelf. But it would require a much abler hand to paint the whole extent of theſe ſentiments.

[Sufferings of the Sick.]

I want words to expreſs the incredible ſufferings of ſome of the ſick; the viſible anxiety, the violent ſtruggles, the labour of nature, the moſt dreadful concuſſions of the whole frame, which manifeſted themſelves in many of the dying. Some, it is true, ſunk tranquil into the arms of death, for it was the nature of this diſorder, to aſſume different ſhapes; but to ſpeak in the language of ſcripture and in that ſenſe in which the following expreſſions ought perhaps to be taken, I muſt ſay—The far greater part *died the death*. All the powers of death ſeemed to aſſail them, and they moſtly experienced a dreadful end.

[Melancholy ſituation of the Healthy.]

Thoſe who were ſtill well among us, generally ſhewed how much the fear of death oppreſſed their

terrified minds. When death had robbed them of ſome relation or acquaintance; there was ſuch a mixture of melancholy, of pain, of ſadneſs, and alſo of an anxious fear of the diſorder, that it was impoſſible to diſtinguiſh the one from the other; in ſome, theſe emotions would break out in loud lamentations, yea, ſhrieks, which were heard in our grave-yards by day and by night at thoſe funerals, where fear would permit ſome of the neareſt relations or acquaintances to be preſent.

Many of the deareſt relations were hurried out of the houſe as quick as poſſible, perhaps even before they were cold; coffins and graves were beſpoken beforehand for ſome; every one wanted to be the firſt to have his dead buried out of his ſight; for immediately after the death of a ſick perſon, the body would turn to putrefaction, and would increaſe the cadaverous ſmell conſiderably, which had been ſpread through the houſe and neighbourhood during the ſickneſs. The whole neighbourhood generally inſiſted very earneſtly upon it, that the danger ſhould be removed as quick as poſſible. Very few had the courage to approach a houſe where any lay dead, much leſs to enter it.

Having ſpoken of the houſes wherein people died, and likewiſe of the ſick, and deſcribed the feelings of thoſe who, ſtill in health, were preſent at theſe ſcenes, it will undoubtedly not be diſagreeable, nor may it perhaps be without a bleſſed effect, if I add ſomething more on this ſubject.

[State of mind of the Sick.]

I have been called to ſeveral ſick perſons, who till that time, had looked upon the religion of Je-

ſus as a matter of the utmoſt indifference, but to whom that truth now gave the greateſt comfort, which teaches that Jeſus of Nazareth can and will ſave ſinners; real ſinners—ſinners, who have nothing to bring him but ſin, becauſe he is the Lamb of God, which bore the ſins of the world. Oh! how often have I ſeen tears of the bittereſt grief, roll down the cheeks of the moſt hardened ſinners at this truth. Not deeming this a proper time further to diſtreſs the poor terrified creatures by the threats of judgment, when they were diſtreſſed already beyond their power to bear; this was therefore the truth which in the execution of this mournful duty, I always made uſe of to the ſick and dying; *Jeſus may yet ſave thee ſinner too; give him what is his; what he has not; what he has purchaſed for thee; purchaſed with his blood; give him all thy ſins; Oh how full of love thy Jeſus is! lo! he is willing to take thy ſins from thee;—how was it poſſible that thou couldſt offend the friend of thy ſoul for ſo long a time? But take alſo what is thy own; the juſtice of Chriſt in his blood; remiſſion of ſins and the peace of God; take eternal life from the hand of crucified love, without reward, without merit, &c.*

As I have ſaid before, tears of diſtreſs flowed from the dying eyes of ſome who had been very unconcerned ſinners. Many of thoſe who were ſpectators both ſuch as were in health, and ſuch as were diſeaſed, were ſometimes moved in the higheſt degree; aud I—the moſt unworthy of the ſervants of the Lord, who had been ſo unprofitable, ſo little uſeful, during the whole time of my office, I may cheriſh the unmerited hope, that

the Lord graciouſly made uſe of me, to lead many a ſoul to ſalvation, who elſe would have ſtrayed and been loſt—and oh! my God what happineſs! to be inſtrumental in ſaving a ſoul! not for a world, would I barter the perſonal advantage which I have derived from the mortality in Philadelphia. Forget not oh my ſoul! what the Lord has conferred upon thee, unworthy as thou art!

[Conſequences with ſome reſpecting the Sacrament.]

Several, who had long thought but very little about the uſe of the Lord's ſupper, now ſhewed an ardent deſire to partake of it. Young people, advanced towards maturity, who had been neglected by their parents, requeſted with the greateſt eagerneſs to be baptized, confirmed, and to be admitted to the Lord's table: in conſequence whereof, two young men were actually baptized after a ſhort inſtruction; one of them recovered, but the other died the very next day. Not long after, a boy of thirteen, and one of nine years of of age, together with a girl of eleven years, were baptized in the ſame family, wherein the abovementioned youth died, and that in preſence of another brother who was then dying.

[Inſtances of ſuch as died happy.]

I hope I ſhall be permitted to add, that in thoſe days of mourning, I have found ſome real, ſincere Chriſtians among our ſo much defamed Lutherans. I will ſelect a few inſtances, which have diffuſed through my ſoul a moſt lively joy.

Nearly at the beginning of the diſorder, I was called to a young man dying; he was very low; but my viſit ſeemed to give him a great deal of pleaſure; he anſwered the queſtions reſpecting the ſtate of his mind with the greateſt alacrity, and with the full conviction, that he knew in whom he believed. So ſweet a ſmile diffuſed itſelf over the already livid features of his face, as often as the merits of his crucified Lord were mentioned, that it might have been taken, rather, for the ſmile of an angel, than that of a ſinful mortal—he found an unfailing life in the death of Jeſus.

Two very valuable and virtuous married women, who died almoſt at the ſame time, were bleſſed in a ſimilar manner. Oh what humble, yet ardent, expreſſions of the heart, flowed from their dying lips! They lay there as ſinners at the footſtool of mercy;—as ſinners they waited for ſalvation, and they found the ſweeteſt peace in the arms of the friend of their ſouls.

A young woman ſuffered for ſome weeks the moſt excruciating pains, but ſhe bore them with the patience of a lamb; a few days before her death, when ſhe was hardly able to move her lips, ſhe brought out the following words with a great deal of difficulty, yet ſo that I diſtinctly heard them. "*Oh! I ſuffer much, but here* (pointing at her heart) *here, I have a friend, who comforts me, my dear, dear Jeſus.*"—here ſhe was obliged to reſt—ſhe then wanted to tell me a great deal about an inward ſtruggle, but I could not rightly underſtand it; afterwards ſhe began again to ſpeak a little more intelligibly, and added very diſtinctly:

" *But this is nothing, when I close mine eyes, oh then I shall be in Paradise, before the throne of my dear, dear Lord Jesus, and that will be soon, very soon!*" She then reached me her dying hand, and I went away rejoiced and strengthened in my mind, having first with praises and thanksgivings recommended her in my prayers to the care of the good shepherd—she died two days after.

A very young person, who had suffered a great deal during the short time she had been married, lay sick with the fever but a few days, and shewed in that situation, what she had shewed in many other circumstances, the greatest composure; when she was very low she asked, " *Is it not Friday to day?*" and being answered in the affirmative, she replied with visible joy of mind: *Oh how good that is, then I shall die on the same day, whereon my Saviour died for me;* and shortly after she expired on that very day.

It would be easy to fill a whole book with anecdotes of the deceased, if the extraordinary interruption and the great fatigue of going and riding backward and forward to the sick and dying, had not rendered one at times, almost totally thoughtless; but these few instances will show the reader how well prepared some of the dying were, for their great change.

[Instances of frivolity in some of those who were in health.]

In general, more seriousness, modesty, humanity, and brotherly love was observed among the in-

habitants of the city, than ever before. It is true, this was not the general character of all the citizens, for ſome of thoſe very perſons of whom the wiſe king ſays, "they bring the city into a ſnare" Prov. XXIX, 8. "and who do not mind the puniſhment" chap. XII, 1.—the ſcornful could not, even now refrain, here and there, from their ſcorn. A well meaning Chriſtian was ſeriouſly reproving one of thoſe on account of his levity; ſhe ſhewed him, that he and his companions, particularly, had been carrying ſtraw to this fire, by their profligate conduct; whereupon he anſwered laughing, "*That is all nonſenſe; if this was the caſe I certainly ſhould burn in the ſame fire; but you ſee how healthy I am, the flame will not touch me; what the prieſts ſay is all a farce; God does not trouble himſelf about theſe judgments; they have their natural cauſes.*" He was only anſwered "*Be not deceived, God is not mocked.*" And lo! in two or three days after, the wretch was buried.

Another turned into jeſt what he had heard in church about this viſitation, a few days before his ſickneſs. In the laſt night of his life an inexpreſſible anguiſh ſeized him: he cried for a miniſter, whom nobody could bring on account of the great diſtance, and it being in the night; at laſt his diſtraction affrighted his nurſes, and they fled out of the room and left him alone: next morning at four o'clock he was found out of his bed, and dead on the floor.

Another fooliſhly offered to lay a wager, that he would not get the fever, and in two days after was buried.

And where would the narration end, were one to put down all that has happened of this kind among us?

[What increaſed the terror of the Inhabitants.]

The terror which this diſorder had ſpread every where, was in ſome inſtances greatly heightened by its breaking out into real madneſs—Some of theſe unfortunate creatures jumped out of their beds, eſcaped in the night time and would run ſometimes a great diſtance from their dwelling into another ſtreet, and ſometimes into a ſtrange houſe if they found one open.

Add to this the groans and lamentations of ſome of the dying, which ſometimes became ſo loud as to be heard diſtinctly in ſeveral adjoining houſes and in the ſtreet.

The external appearance moreover of thoſe who met one another in the ſtreet, increaſed the alarm. They generally had ſpunges or handkerchiefs before their mouths and noſes, and ſome even had the mouth entirely covered. They ſhunned each other through fear of being infected. Beſides, the deep mourning which appeared in dreſs, and the diſtreſs in the countenance, the conſtant going backward and forward of the dead-cart, eſpecially its doleful noiſe in the night time; rendered the ſituation of the city deplorable beyond deſcription.

[Public Worſhip.]

Great as the diſtreſs was, which under theſe circumſtances, pervaded the whole city, there were

not wanting ſuch occurrences as afforded comfort particularly to our congregation, and which were highly acceptable to the teachers as well as ſeveral of its well diſpoſed and conſiderate members. Several of theſe have been mentioned already in the preceeding pages, particularly how the power of the religion of Jeſus had manifeſted itſelf in many particular examples.

We have to add ſtill, that the pre-eminence of the Chriſtian above the infidel was viſible every where throughout the city: the Chriſtian is a lover of the word of God; he loves to hear it diſpenſed; and hundreds expreſſed in theſe days of diſtreſs, a wiſh to be Chriſtians in reality. They who deſpiſed the doctrine of Jeſus formerly, and perhaps even blaſphemed and mocked, now came frequently to attend upon the preaching of the divine word, which was ſtill continued with us. Though a number of the members of our congregation had fled into the country with their families, and a great many of thoſe who remained in the city, were afraid of coming to church;—though a good deal had been ſaid, with a good intention, in the newſpapers againſt the aſſembling for public worſhip; though a great many were ſick themſelves, or had ſick or dead perſons in their houſes and families, and therefore at ſuch times could not appear; and though the number of the deceaſed was not inconſiderable, yet, notwithſtanding all this, our meetings were often crouded, as if nothing of the kind had taken place!

We ſaw now on Sundays and week-days people attending ſervice, whom we had never ſeen in our

church, or at leaſt very ſeldom ſeen there, before. And the ſilence, the attention, the emotion, which were obſerved in our hearers!—Ah! what a ſight, what a ſcene otherwiſe ſo rare! even during the ſinging, tears began to flow in various inſtances, which increaſed during the ſermon to a ſoft ſobbing; and then after the ſermon—the humble ſupplications throughout our bleſſed Zion—the ſighs—the groans and the increaſed guſt of tears—the contrite humble confeſſion of ſinfulneſs in the Miniſters, who from conviction, ranged themſelves foremoſt amongſt the pooreſt ſinners; acknowledged a heartfelt regiſter of ſins, and then threw themſelves in the name of Jeſus, into the arms of a reconciled father—My God! what hours were theſe! what comfort pervaded our otherwiſe diſtreſſed congregation! for me it is impoſſible to deſcribe what the Lord hath done among us.

To theſe bleſſings muſt be added moreover how the Lord uſed to deal commonly with his miniſtering ſervants; theſe ſaw and felt very plainly the confidence, the filial love of their hearers; they feared not any inſidious ſpy, who had come to draw poiſon from their diſcourſes; no ſupercilious deſpiſer or ſcorner; and this ſentiment gave them a warm and loving heart and an open mouth. Here prevailed not the ſtiffneſs of an accurately arranged and methodically divided ſermon; here the friend, the lover, the father was ſpeaking to his children the ſentiments of an upright heart: never during the time of our office, was preaching a more welcome and bleſſed duty, than what we found it during this calamity, and never, we ſincerely believe, were we ſo uſeful in the vine-

yard of the **Lord**, as in thoſe days. But here we are obliged to add with great concern, that we find ourſelves brought in guilty in a thing which we had looked upon as having produced many bleſſed effects; we are charged of having done conſiderable damage by our public worſhip: in evidence of this charge they alledge the great number of deaths, in our congregation, above all others in the city; and what is of the greateſt conſequence, they attempt to prove our guilt from Scripture.

[Anſwer to the charge reſpecting the holding of Public Worſhip.]

This charge having repeatedly been made againſt us, it is our duty to give a ſhort anſwer to it in theſe ſheets. Take it as follows:

We know that the Moſt High doth not dwell in temples made with men's hands; but that he dwells in a contrite and humble mind; but we know likewiſe, that few people have a contrite and humble heart at the time of the judgments of God, and that the Lord makes uſe of his word, to produce in them this bleſſed diſpoſition: we know that the public preaching of the Goſpel, and common means of edification, promote the ſame very much; we know that the Lord dwells with ſuch really contrite ſouls particularly then, when they unite in a church or in any other houſe for his worſhip; for has he not ſaid, "*The Lord loveth the gates of Zion more than all the dwelling-places of Jacob.*" Has not our Bleſſed Saviour given

this promiſe? *Where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midſt of them.* Has he not called to us through his Apoſtle, *Let us not forſake the aſſembling of ourſelves together.* Has there been any exception made in any part of Scripture with reſpect to ſickneſs, or the time of the plague? Do we blame the firſt Chriſtians, when they aſſembled together for the common adoration of Jeſus Chriſt at the utmoſt hazard of their of lives? was it not in theſe meetings where the bleſſed martyrs gathered courage and ſtrength, joyfully to ſhed their blood for Chriſt's ſake? Do we believe that the law of ſelf-preſervation would have excuſed them if they had for that reaſon neglected the opportunities, which prepared the way for them to a glorious death? The narrow compaſs of this ſmall pamphlet will not allow us to ſay any more of the bleſſings of God upon ſuch aſſociations of his people; and even of the Scriptural neceſſity of ſuch meetings in times of calamity; we will only add a few remarks concerning our meetings themſelves, from whence it will appear that we were extremely cautious, and endeavoured to render them not only harmleſs, but even uſeful.

Very ſoon in the beginning of the diſorder we left off our evening prayers, as we thought that they might perhaps be hurtful on account of the evening air; and becauſe many would perhaps not change their clothes in the evening which they had worn all day in ſick-rooms. We fixed our meetings in the morning, and we came together in our large church and no longer in the ſmall one, as being too near the grave-yard. This roomy building was opened long before the time of meeting, in

order that the freſh morning air might pervade it; afterwards all the doors and windows were ſhut and a ſtrong ſmoke of juniper berries and nitre was made throughout the whole houſe. Then the people gathered; when all were met, many or few, or perhaps all of the windows and doors were opened, according as the weather required.

Thoſe who had ſick people at home, or did not feel well themſelves, were particularly requeſted not to come to our meetings; all who attended were adviſed to ſit as far apart as the numbers of the hearers would permit. The ſervice itſelf laſted ſeldom longer than half or three quartes of an hour.

In our diſcourſes we did not confine ourſelves to truths concerning ſalvation, but frequently interſperſed other neceſſary matters according to circumſtances; among theſe we reckon:

A repeated injunction, that the diſorder was contagious and that nobody ought to go near the dead or into the ſick-rooms without occaſion:

A recommendation of certain neceſſary and harmleſs preſervatives:

A caution againſt all that might be hurtful and might promote the infection, ſuch as intemperance in eating and drinking; uncleanlineſs of dreſs and body; immoderate uſe of ſtrong liquors; catching cold; overheating; fatigue, &c.

Directions how to conduct themſelves in the

rooms where the ſick lay; what was to be done with the cloathing and bedding of the dead, and ſeveral other particulars of the like nature. We are well perſuaded that theſe and other directions have been the means of ſaving the lives of many; but theſe we could not have given, if the ſaid meetings had not been held.

We preached moreover Jeſus, the friend of the poor ſinner; the ready and Almighty phyſician and aſſiſtant in the greateſt diſtreſs; we tried to baniſh all exceſſive fear out of the minds of our hearers, and inſpire them with courage and confidence in God; we recited inſtances of perſons of our congregation who had given up their ſpirits into the hands of their heavenly Father with faith and joy. We may ſafely appeal to the evidence of a number of thoſe, who were then our hearers, that we ſay not too much when we aſſert, that forgetting almoſt entirely the diſtreſs that ſurrounded us, and baniſhing all fear from our minds (and experience has ſhewn how hurtful fear has been to the inhabitants of this city) we could and really did yield ourſelves into the hands of the Almighty Father, with filial, penitent, but likewiſe compoſed confidence.

Such were the purpoſes of our meetings, and that theſe could be any ways injurious, will only be aſſerted by thoſe who do not know the power of religion, or who form to themſelves an idea of the danger of infection from the diſorder which prevailed here, far above the poiſon of the real plague.

But here the queſtion will be aſked, From whence

proceeded that very great and diſproportionate number of burials in your congregation?

To this queſtion we give the following ſatisfactory anſwer—

Firſt. The number is not ſo greatly out of proportion as ſome people may think, for our congregation was always the moſt numerous in births and burials, of any in the city, according to the bills of mortality, of which, every one may eaſily convince himſelf, by having recourſe to the ſaid bills for a few years paſt; and therefore, now, without any thing extraordinary, the number would naturally exceed that of the other congregations.

Secondly. It has been generally obſerved, that this fatal diſorder, made a much greater havock among the poor, than among the rich; and a great number of the members of our congregation, are of the poorer claſs.

Thirdly. For this very reaſon, more perſons of our congregation, remained in town than of any other; conſequently were in greater numbers expoſed to the danger and ſwept away by it.

Fourthly. It muſt be ſtriking to every body, as it was to us, that from the firſt of Auguſt, until the fifteenth of September, the number of burials, in our grave-yards, was ſmaller than what it ought to have been in proportion to other congregations, and even to their own in former years, when a calculation is made according to the liſts of burials; and yet, in thoſe days we held as uſual, our meet-

ings for worſhip, without obſerving all thoſe precautions which we made uſe of afterwards; and there were as many members of our congregation living in that part of the city, where the mortality began and ſpread during the firſt weeks, as where it raged afterwards. Nevertheleſs the number of our burials encreaſed after the fifteenth of September, in that diſproportionate manner, in which we now find it ſtated. Every reader will naturally ſuppoſe, that there muſt be a particular reaſon for this, and herein he is not miſtaken.— This reaſon we truſt, we can give to every body's ſatisfaction: Among the brethren who left the city, was likewiſe the member, who had been appointed by our corporation, to grant the licenſes for burial; no one of the corporation would now take this office upon himſelf; we were therefore obliged to transfer it to our inviter, and that under this injunction (which for good reaſons was highly neceſſary at this time) that he ſhould give leave for the interment of the dead to *every one gratis and without any particular enquiry;* the inviter himſelf was moſt of his time at funerals, and, therefore, could not always perſonally attend to this buſineſs, but was obliged to leave it, to a child of eight or nine years old, who gave tickets to the grave-digger, to any one that came.

This circumſtance was ſoon generally known; there was not a burying-ground in the whole city, whither people could bring their dead with leſs trouble than to ours; and, beſides all this, our inviter and driver put the deceaſed in the coffin themſelves, and their friends had no occaſion to look for any other aſſiſtance, numbers of people

came from all quarters on account of this conſiderable advantage. Among theſe a great many who had never before called themſelves members of our congregation, applied to have their dead buried in our grave-yards. I do not know exactly how many we can reckon in our liſt of the dead whoſe names were not even known to us before; but their number is certainly very great. And now, who can be ſurpriſed any longer, that the number of our dead was ſo very great, during the abovementioned time? certainly nobody, who conſiders all theſe circumſtances, will contend that the reaſon is to be found in our meeting for worſhip.

The number of thoſe who attended divine ſervice, and ſickened or died, is proportionably ſmall compared with the number of thoſe, who never or at leaſt very ſeldom attended our meetings and nevertheleſs were buried with us; I never heard of a ſingle one of whom it could be ſuppoſed with any degree of certainty, that he had taken the ſeeds of the diſorder in church; and in regard to whom a different and more probable cauſe of the infection could not be aſſigned.

Being very much concerned to ſhew every reader, that the public worſhip of God, has contributed nothing to the mortality, we will add the following circumſtance: Out of the poor ſociety of our congregation twenty-four have died during theſe fatal months; one of them died four hundred miles from hence; five of them frequented the church conſtantly. Three of theſe were infected, by their cloſe attendance on the ſick; of

the two others we cannot ſay this with ſuch a degree of certainty, the other eighteen could not have taken the infection in church, as they according to the teſtimony of ſeveral of our members, (probably from fear) ſeldom or never attended in thoſe days. If time permitted us to enter into a more minute enquiry, we certainly ſhould find a different cauſe of infection in the above-mentioned two perſons, than that of going to church. We add moreover, that the liſt of our burials was kept with great accuracy; whether the ſame ſtrict attention has been obſerved in other religious ſocieties, we do not pretend to ſay; but this I hope we ſhall be permitted to ſay; that from ſeeing the dead carts and hearſes travelling up and down every ſtreet daily, we ſhould have ſuppoſed the amount of the dead conſiderably larger than what it has been publiſhed. Perhaps there were not wanting ſome, who looked upon this judgment as falling only upon the wicked, and were ſorry to find ſo many people of this claſs in their congregations; but we rather believe that the Lord makes no difference in his general judgments; we believe that as ſo many pious ſouls have been called off, this mortality has proved a harveſt for heaven. We could beſides mention the names of ſeveral, belonging to another religious ſociety, which pretended at a diſtance, that none of their members had died; who have been buried in our grave-yards.

[Comfort during theſe weeks of Mourning.]

Diſagreeable as it was to us to make this digreſſion from the more pleaſant path, wherein we

wiſhed to conduct our readers, it was nevertheleſs neceſſary to add this ſhort apology for our meetings of worſhip. We ſhall now return to the narration of that, which ſupported our minds and inſtilled much comfort into them, amidſt all the diſtreſs which we witneſſed.

[Domeſtic Service or Family Worſhip.]

It was in theſe days of mortality that domeſtic worſhip, which had been ſo long and generally neglected, had a bleſſed revival in ſeveral families, and preſented ſcenes which ſome of them will never forget. I will, for the encouragement of our youth, mention in this place, one circumſtance, only: A young woman one evening encouraged the whole family to ſing certain hymns with her, which ſhe herſelf had collected and tranſcribed with her own hand into a book, and which all pointed to Jeſus, and in ſome places treated of an happy death; ſhe with great alacrity led the whole company in ſinging, and continued this edifying exerciſe with much life and zeal until eleven o'clock at night, and behold! this was the laſt evening of life, wherein ſhe was able to ſing in this world; for a few days afterwards ſhe was a corpſe. But this exerciſe was without a doubt a bleſſed preparation through the grace of Jeſus Chriſt to ſo near a diſſolution.

[Comfort out of the Calamity itſelf.]

We reckon among the bleſſings of theſe days, thoſe ſolacing ſenſations which faith ſometimes produced in the midſt of this great diſtreſs; ſen-

fations, which the Lord uſually inſtilled firſt by the inſtrumentality of his word into the teachers, and which were by their frequent diſcourſes communicated to their hearers—and I ſhall not be blamed perhaps, if from my journal of one day, I put down in a few words, what on that day I felt; I will ſelect a day, which brought us nearly to the higheſt pitch of diſtreſs; it was the 5th of October, the very Saturday before that week, wherein our congregation loſt one hundred and thirty of its members. The reader may eaſily imagine, that under theſe circumſtances our poor congregation muſt be full of ſick, and that the diſtreſs and the agonies of the ſick, muſt have neceſſarily taken away the courage of the miniſters at their viſits, if the Lord had refuſed them his ſupport; but to the praiſe of his mercy we herewith humbly acknowledge that the Lord did not forſake us; He aſſiſted us. In the abovementioned journal, it is recorded on the 5th of October as follows:

" Early awake—manifold anxieties of mind—my prayer was barren, more barren than it has been for a long time. My heart as cold as the air of the morning is abroad.

" Text: *Teach me to do thy will*—Meditated on Iſa. LXVI, 2. *To this man I will look even to him that is poor*"—Went towards the church with a heavy heart—On my way the diſtreſs of a family very dear to me was greatly increaſed by the *relation* given of it by a female friend, and this augmented my uneaſineſs which was great already. Preached on Iſa. LXVI, 2.—During the diſcourſe my poor heart was enlarged--Oh! how I could evan-

gelize! Thanks to thee, my bleſſed Redeemer! Rode down into the Neck—Afterwards viſited the following ſick in the city—"

Here follow about thirty names of ſick perſons, twelve whereof were buried a few days after—Then it ſays further:

" Bleſſed evening—bleſſed awful ſolitude—The thought: *The city is diſtreſſed—-ſo many families are diſtreſſed—-but the Lord looks down upon the diſtreſſed, and who would not willingly be in a place on which the Lord looks down in mercy?* This thought had ſo much comfort for me, that I forgot all the calamity around me—

" Oh! dear, bleſſed Philadelphia, now more bleſſed than ever, for the Lord looks down upon thee—Happy I—and ſo the Lord looks down upon me too in mercy, through Chriſt—This looking down comprehends the whole bleſſing of the Old, as well as the New Teſtament, in it is compriſed *the grace of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the love of God and the communion of the Holy Ghoſt*—

" Happy art thou! oh my ſoul! thou haſt a bleſſed portion! here and there I behold perſons kneeling, as ſoon as I begin to ſpeak, in ſick-rooms and in the adjoining apartments—Ah! what a thirſt after the word of God; praiſed be our good Lord!"

The ſympathy that was ſhewn every where at our diſtreſs, was a matter of great comfort; it has been mentioned already in other general accounts,

how this ſympathy from different parts was extended to *all the poor* of the city; and how the committee appointed here for that purpoſe was ſupported by liberal contributions, to take care of the poor ſick at Buſh-Hill, and to provide for the widows and orphans; in this account we will only mention what concerns our own congregation in particular, and here we reckon,

Firſt, The charitable donations which were ſent to our widows and orphans—The Lancaſter Congregation was the firſt and moſt generous; never will the miniſters of the Evangelic Congregation in Philadelphia forget the comfort which they derived at that time in the midſt of their diſtreſs from theſe tokens of love; and never ought our whole congregation to looſe the remembrance of the ſiſterly treatment which they have experienced in this reſpect; Germantown followed this Chriſtian example, and to both theſe congregations the warmeſt acknowledgments of their expreſſions of affection are offered in the name of our poor widows and orphans.

Secondly, It was a great comfort to us whenever we heard from our brethren in the country; and this conſolation was frequently ſo encreaſed by their letters, that we were enabled to raiſe ourſelves above our diſtreſs, and inſtead of lamentations appear before the Lord with praiſe and thankſgiving. May Jeſus Chriſt grant to theſe miniſters and other brethren, that comfort in the hour of death, which by their letters they have conveyed to us in the greateſt danger of life.

Thirdly, The bleſſing of the fervent prayers of ſo many pious ſouls, was a great ſupport to our minds; we could, as one may ſay, feel that many others, even far diſtant brethren, aſſiſted us in bearing the burthen which ſometimes would become too heavy for us. And how much more will eternity diſcover of all this to our mutual joy. Good God! how will our hearts, then no longer bleeding at thy judgments, there mix in pure celeſtial exſtacy, and even for theſe very afflictions praiſe thee in eternal ſtrains, for "our light afflictions which are but for a moment, work out for us a far, more exceeding and eternal weight of glory." Amen, Hallelujah!

FINIS.